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THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE BANTU LANGUAGES

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# THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE BANTU LANGUAGES

By Miss A. WERNER (Londres).

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In an interesting paper contributed to the *Revue des Idées* for January 13, 1907, M. Van Gennep lays stress on the importance of studying the noun-classes of the Bantu languages from a new point of view. The ideas underlying this arrangement have long been a puzzle to philologists. Beyond the facts that one class consisted of nouns denoting the names of persons, another of verbs used as nouns and a third (in some languages) of diminutives, while others contained, though they did not exclusively consist of, the names of trees and of abstract qualities respectively, it seemed impossible to discover the principle on which words were included in one class rather than another. Most attempts in this direction have been more or less fantastic in character, and were, M. Van Gennep thinks, doomed to failure, because they approached the question from a purely European point of view. The solution, he suggests, may lie along the lines indicated by Mr. Dennett in *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*: (now supplemented by *Nigerian Studies*), — viz., in discovering the « logical system » of the Bantu — the principle on which they classify the facts of the visible world, so far as these are known to them :

« Ce système de classification des choses de l'univers, phénomène de l'ordre social, entraîne une classification correspondante des mots désignant ces choses. »

We may remark, in passing, that considerable light is likely to be thrown on this subject by M. Torday's researches among the Bushongo, whose system of sacred animals, intimately connected with their social organization, seems to complete and explain the information obtained by Mr. Dennett from the Bavili, and the hints as to the Warundi contained in P. Van der Burgt's work, to which M. Van Gennep refers at the end of his essay.

The present can hardly be called an attempt at solving the problem in question — that would, for many reasons, be a task beyond my powers, — but an endeavour to examine two points connected with it : the way in which the names of animals are distributed through the various noun-classes, and the distribution of root-words denoting animals through the whole area of the Bantu language-field. One of the most generally accepted opinions with regard to the Bantu languages is, that, though they have no grammatical gender as we understand it (i. e. no distinction of sex expressed in the forms of the language) they make a very clear distinction between living things and things without life. This is borne out by the fact that, in Swahili, the best known (or perhaps we should say the least unfamiliar) Bantu language to most Europeans, all names of living beings are included in the first, or person-class. But a little further study shows that this is not entirely accurate. Not only do other languages place most names of animals in entirely different classes, but internal evidence shows that, even in Swahili, the arrangement is an afterthought, a late grammatical development, evidently the result of logic and reflection. For instance, *simba* « a lion », *chui*, « a leopard », which, as they stand, have no prefix and do not vary in the plural, belong to

Bleek's ninth class (called the third in most Swahili grammars) which originally had the prefix *ini*. These words are treated as belonging to the first class, i. e. we say *simba mkubwa afika*, « the great lion comes », not *simba (n)kubwa ifika* as it would be according to the concords of Class 3. The plural, however, is not *wasimba*, but *simba*.

As a matter of fact, most names of animals (so far as I know, in all the Bantu languages) belong to Class 3. In some cases there is a process of transference to Class 1, either still going on or already completed. Professor Meinhof is probably right in attributing this to a habit of personification due to the influence of folk-tales :

« Die Anwendung der Klasse 9 auf die Tiere ist bekannt. Im Suaheli werden die Tiere zwar nach dieser Klasse gebildet, aber die abhängigen Worte gehen nach der Menschenklasse (unter dem Einfluss der Tierfabel). Im Kele ist sogar die Präfigierung von ba Kl. 2 regelmässiger Plural zu Kl. 9 <sup>1</sup>.

But, apart from this transference to the person-class, of which we find several stages, animal-names are found with greater or less frequency in several other classes, which I propose to examine separately.

Perhaps the most convenient way of beginning our inquiry will be to give a list of animal-names belonging to this class in Zulu, which will serve our purpose as well as any other, and better than some, having preserved its grammatical forms much more fully than Swahili, and, in some respects than Nyanja.

imbube, ingonyama,	lion.
ingwe,	leopard.
indhlovu,	elephant.
imvubu,	hippopotamus.
imfene,	baboon.
inkau,	monkey.
imbodhla,	wild cat.
inja,	dog.
impisi,	hyena.
impofu,	eland.
imbabala,	bush-buck.
innungu,	porcupine.
imbila,	hyrax.
impuku,	mouse.
inkomo,	ox.
imbuzi,	goat.
imvu,	sheep.
ingulube,	pig (wild or tame).
inyoni,	bird.
inqe,	vulture.
insingizi,	ground hornbill.
impangele,	guinea-fowl.
inkuku,	domestic fowl.
intaka,	finch.
ingwenya,	crocodile.
inyoka,	snake.

1. *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen*, p. 14. Kele is spoken in the Gaboon country, French Congo.

imbulu,	monitor lizard.
inhlatu,	python.
inhlanzi,	fish.
inkwetu,	mussel.
impukane,	fly.
inkala,	crab.
impetu,	maggot.
intutwane,	kind of ant.
inyosi,	bee.
imbambela,	octopus.

The list might easily be made much longer; but it is sufficient to show that there is no apparent distinction between large and small animals, or between the different orders, all being represented in this class. The deficiency in generic terms, which the Bantu languages share with other primitive tongues, has often been remarked on. Here, it will be seen that there is a general term for « bird » and one for « fish », but none for « reptile »; *inyoka* is generic for all snakes (various kinds being distinguished as *inhlati*, *imamba*, *imfezi*, etc.), but there is no common designation for lizards as such, nor for insects. The different kinds of beetles have each its own name, but there is no word corresponding to « beetle »; on the other hand, there are two words for « butterfly » (*ijubajubane* and *wemvane*), but none for the various species; or perhaps no difference of species is recognised. Two kinds of moth (*inyundu*, *umvunya*), have names of their own, no doubt because their destructive propensities have brought them into notice. Animals in general are called *inyama* (which also means « meat ») or *inyamazane* (diminutive of the former word). These properly denote « game », or at least any eatable animals, but are sometimes applied to others. *Isilo* is any wild or ferocious beast, but is now (as we shall see later on) usually applied to the leopard. In Chinyanja, the distinction is made between *nyama* and *chi-rombo* (same root as *isi-lo*, but with the suffix-*mbo*). The above remarks apply, on the whole, to all the Bantu languages. Swahili has a word for « insect » (*dudu*) but it is borrowed from the Arabic.

It would be easy to compile similar lists to the above from the vocabulary of any other Bantu language, but this will be sufficient for our purpose, as, with some exceptions, even when the name is not identical, it is found in the same grammatical class. Thus, had we selected Luganda, instead of Zulu, our list would have run : *empologoma* (or *entale*), *engo*, *enjovu*, *emvubu*, *enkobe*, etc.

This class contains, besides names of animals, a variety of other substantives. I give a few examples (still in Zulu) without attempting to arrive at any principle of classification.

Moon,	inyanga (but not sun).
Star,	inkanyezi.
Mountain,	intaba (but not river or rock).
House,	indhlu.
Blanket,	ingubo.
Basket,	imbenge.
Stick,	induku.
Earthen pot,	imbiza.
Chattels, furniture, etc.,	impahla.
Story, discussion, etc.,	indaba.
grass pad (for carrying loads on head),	inkata.



Also many names of plants, and some nouns (formed from verbs) denoting the agent, as *imbongi*, praiser, *imbazi*, « carver », etc.

Then we have a number of animal-names belonging to the *li-ma* class (Bleek's 5th and 6th), e. g.

Ibubesi,	lion. Plural ama-bubesi.
ibizi, )	
idube, )	zebra.
ikati,	(domestic) cat.
ihashi,	horse.
ihlosi,	another name for leopard.
ijele,	male leopard.
iqina,	steinbuck.
iula,	oribi.

Several kinds of rats, as : *ibuzi*, *igwence*, *ivondwe*, etc.

Birds : *igwababa*, « crow », *ihlungulu*, « raven », *ihobe*, « dove », *ijuba* « pigeon », *ititihoya*, « plover », *iseme*, « bustard », *idada*, « duck », *iqude* « cock ».

Reptiles : *ibululu*, *ivuzamanzi*, kinds of snake, *ixoro*, « toad », *iselesele*, « frog ».

Insects, *ipela*, « cockroach », *ibungane*, « boring beetle »; *ikazane*, « tick »; *igugca*, « kind of termite » (usual kind, *ihhlwa*, *umuhlwa*), *itula*, « cattle-tick », *izenze* « flea ». It might almost seem as if the insects belonging to this class were all more or less noxious ones; but this principle will not apply to the other animals, and even among insects we have *ijubajubane* « butterfly » and *itshongololo*, « millepede », which last is at all events harmless. In considering the other names, we may perhaps note two points, though I should hesitate to generalise: -some names are those of imported animals, as *ikati*, *ihashi*, and (in the Xosa dialect of the Cape) *ibokwe*, (imported) goat; *igusha*, woolled sheep; *ihagu* or *ihangu*, domestic pig (English « hog »). Again, some are of the nature of synonyms or appellatives, used instead of, or alternatively with the real name; *ibubesi*, *idelabutongo* (another name for « hyena »); or denote a particular sex or age of the animal in question : *iqude*, *ijele*, *icalara*, « male dog ». This, however, cannot be pressed.

The seventh or *bu* and eighth or *ku* classes (Bleek's 14th and 15th) contain no names of animals, the latter consisting solely of infinitives of verbs and the former of abstract nouns (e. g. *ubu-hle* « goodness »), with one or two exceptions, such as *ubu-tshwala*, « beer » u (*bu*)-*tshane*, « grass ». I have found only one name of a living creature *ubu-cubu*, « a chick ».

The *lu* class (Bleek's 11th) contains a few names of birds, reptiles and insects : *Ukozi*, *uhetshe*, hawks, *unwaba*, chameleon, *u(lu)fudu*, « tortoise », *u(lu)lembu*, « spider ». It is sometimes said that this class contains the names of « long or high things »; but this does not seem to apply.

Some animals are found in the *mu-mi* class (Bleek's third and fourth) of which the most marked characteristic is that it contains the names of trees, or of things (such as parts of the body), which, though living, have no independent life (*umkono*, « hand » *umlomo*, « lip », *umlenze*, « leg », etc.) Thus we have *umkomo*, « whale », *umvundhla*, « hare », *umkolwane*, « crowned hornbill », etc. (In Nyanja, *mkango*, « lion », and *mbulu*, « wild dog » (*Lycaon pictus*) belong to this class). We also have *umnenke*, « snail » *umuhlwa*, « white ant », *umvunya* « fish moth », *umkonya*, « kind of locust », etc.

Lastly, names of animals belonging to the first class are in a somewhat peculiar position. Normally, the plural prefix for this class is *aba*; but animals take the

plural prefix *o*. Thus, *umeyane*, « mosquito » has for its plural *omeyane*; *upejane*, « rhinoceros » *opejane*. This is the same form of the plural as that taken by proper names, as *oMpande* (used instead of *uMpande* as a plural of respect) or in the idiom *oZatshuke*, meaning « Zatshuke and his people ». Probably this arises from the fact that when the name of an animal is treated as a proper name, as in stories, the personal prefix *u* is substituted for that properly belonging to the word. thus *i-cakide* is a « weasel », but he figures in fairy-tales as a quasi human being with the name of *uCakijana*.

Again, many names of animals belonging to this class are clearly compounded with *unina*, « mother » (contracted to *no*, as *unogwaja*, « rabbit », *unohemu*, « crowned crane »). It is difficult to trace the etymology of these words; possibly *unogwaja* may mean « mother of numbers » *ukuti gwaja* « be thronged together <sup>1</sup> ») but usually the word to which *no-* is prefixed does not seem to have a separate meaning of its own. Comparison with other languages and considerations presently to be adduced suggest the possibility that the compound does not mean « mother of » anything but is merely the animal's ordinary name preceded by a honorific particle, « Mother Gwaja », « Mother Hemu », and so on.

We find an analogous development in Suto. The special prefix *bo-* is used in an exactly similar way to the Zulu *o*, among others, to form the plural of proper nouns with a collective meaning. « Some nouns of animals are treated in the same way, but it will be noticed that they are all formed with the name '*ma* (mother of). Ex. '*mankhane* bat, pl. *bo-mankhane*; '*mampharoane* lizard, pl. *bo-mampha roane*; '*mamolanguane* the secretary-bird, pl. *bo-mamolanguane*, etc. <sup>2</sup> ».

Cf. also what Endemann says (*Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho*, I, p. 34) : — « Manche Tiere haben — was vielleicht mit ursprünglichem heidnischen Mythos zusammenhängt — mit *Ma* beginnende Personalnamen als Gattungsnamen und werden daher sprachlich auch als Personen behandelt. Solche sind z. B. *Makovele* (Habicht), Pl. *vo-makovele*; *Maranthane* (Fledermaus) u. A. ».

In the Rolong dialect of Chwana (which is, of course, very similar to Suto), we find the same rule, e. g. *bo-mamathoane*, « bats », but it is not confined to nouns compounded with *ma-*. « *Bo-*, is prefixed to form the plural of many words which refer to the smaller kinds of animals, e. g. *samane*; a meercat, pl. *bosamane*; *lobolu*, a chameleon pl. *bolobolu*; *kgantlapane*, a lizard, pl. *bokgantlapane* <sup>3</sup> ».

In Ila (the language of the tribe usually called « Mashukulumbwe » in the Zambezi Valley, closely related to Subiya), we find, similarly, nouns compounded with *na-* (« mother ») and also with *sha-* (« father ») Thus :

Shankole,	-wart-hog, pl. ba-shankole.
Shasubila,	the pallah antelope, pl. ba-shasubila.
Shapidio,	a hawk, pl. ba-shapidio.
Nachindwe,	the Oribi, pl. ba-nachindwe.
Nakasha,	the duiker, pl. ba-nakasha.
Namuwane,	the crested crane, pl. ba-namuwane,
	etc., etc.

It is perhaps somewhat curious that names compounded with « father » should be less common than those with « mother », but in most languages this seems to be the case. In Zulu, I have only been able to discover *u-somhetshe* (so is the usual

1. Colenso's Dictionary.

2. Jacottet, *Elementary Sketch of Sesuto Grammar*, Morija, 1893, p. 15.

3. Crisp, *Notes towards a Secoana Grammar*, London (S. P. C. K.), 1900, p. 6.

contraction for *nyse*, as in proper names such as Somkeli, Sotemba, etc.) a kind of hawk, also called *u(lu)-hetshe*. In Ganda, both *se* « father » and *na*, « mother » are used to form the names of animals (and other words as well). E. g. *Sekanyolya* « a crane » *se' kesa*, « a kind of centipede », *semutundu*, « a large kind of fish », *nabubi*, « spider »; *namulimi*, « ant-bear »; *nawolovu* « chameleon » (cf. Suto *lobolu*).

In Nyanja a large number of animal-names begin with *na*, the explanation (which does not seem to have occurred to D. C. Scott, see *Dictionary* p. 418) being obviously the same. We may instance *nadzikambe*, « chameleon », *nankabai*, « hawk », *nakodzwe*, « waterbuck », *namfuko*, « mole », *namalindi* the « lily wader » (*Parra africana*), etc., etc. Some of these names are also used without the prefix, as *mfuko*. *Na-*, in these compounds, is often followed by *-ka-* or *-nka*, for which no satisfactory explanation suggests itself: *nakafumbwe* « a weevil », *nankabai*, « a hawk », *nankalizi*, « a scorpion ». All these nouns are reckoned as having no prefix in the singular — that is, they do not take *mu*, *m*, *omu*, or *umu*, and simply prefix the sign of the plural to the unaltered singular form. In many cases, there is really no prefix, thus, among the examples given above, *samane* and *kgantlapane*, but *lobolu* clearly belongs to the sixth class, which in Chwana has the singular prefix *lo* pl. *li*, in Zulu *u(lu)* and *izin*. This shows that *ba-* is added in the plural to the original prefix and that *samane* and similar words originally belonged, like most names of animals, to the third class, which in Chwana has entirely lost its prefix in the singular.

It seems therefore as if we were here dealing with names of animals transferred from their original class to the person-class, as a result of personification. We find the same tendency at work in Subiya, where the lion is called *indavu*, but, when figuring as a personage in the folk-tales, *undavu*. In Lala and Lenje, the plural of courtesy is used: — *wakalulu*, hare; *wankalamu*, lion, and so on.

In Sumbwa folk-tales, animals have the prefix *Ka*: *nakami*, the hare, is *Kana-kami*; in Ganda, *Wa*: *Wa-njovu*.

In Yao stories, the animals are distinguished as *Che* Sungula, *Che* Ndembo, etc., *-Che* being the ordinary prefix of courtesy used to men and women, and *Nyana* is similarly used in Angola. These two prefixes are less intimately connected with the words than those previously mentioned, and remind us of « Brer Rabbit » and « Michié Dinde », in the folk-lore of Georgia and Louisiana.

The rule that names of animals, of whatever class, take the plural of the first is found in Lenje, where we have *njovu*, *wanjovu*, *usefu*, *wansefu*, etc. Nyanja seems in this respect to be in a transition stage: one hears « *anjovu a li ankawee* and *njobvu zi ri za nkarwe* ».

In Ila we find that several words which elsewhere (a) belong to the third class in both numbers, or (b) belong to the third class in the singular and the first in the plural, as we have just seen in Lenje, have taken the first class prefix in the singular also, e. g.

mu-nyati	= buffalo	pl. ba-nyati
mu-sefu	= eland	pl. ba-sefu
mu-zovu	= elephant	pl. ba-zovu.

But, besides these, we have the compounds of *sha* and *na* already referred to, and names of animals beginning with *m*, (or *mu*) *shi-* *mi-*, *ka-* and *chi-* all of which prefix *ba-* in the plural, as *bashaluzuke* (kind of fish) *bashiluwe* (leopards), *bamishika* (hawks), *bakabwenga* (hyenas) *bachiwena* (crocodiles) *bachibizi* (zebras) *bomwaba* (jackals); the author adds, « Nouns of this class have really U as their singular



classifier, but with most nouns it is heard only when special emphasis is put on the word. Thus at the beginning of sentences one may hear *U-chibizi*, *U-shiluwe* »<sup>1</sup>. It seems clear, therefore, on the whole, that names of animals have only been placed in the person-class at a late stage of development, and as a result of personification, probably, in the first instance, through the influence of the animal-story which is so marked a feature in Bantu folk-lore.

## II

Even a superficial acquaintance with the Bantu languages discloses the fact that some names of animals have practically a universal diffusion, while others are curiously limited in range, two or three adjacent languages sometimes using words which have no etymological connection whatever. Sir Harry Johnston's early theory, which he has since seen reason to modify, will hardly fit the facts. He supposed that the widely spread names belonged to creatures known to the undivided Bantu in their original habitat, and thence deduced the conclusion that they came from « a well-forested and well-watered region in West Central Africa. »

« The fact that similar words are used in the remotest and most widely separated members of the group to express « leopard », elephant », « hippopotamus », « buffalo », « pig », « ape », « monkey » « grey parrot », « bee », etc., leads us to believe that these creatures were familiar to the primitive Bantu race, while we may infer that because the rhinoceros, giraffe, lion, ostrich and zebra are known by many different terms in the dialects of those tribes acquainted with them, they were unknown to the forefathers of the people in their ancestral home..... The leopard, elephant, apes and monkeys mostly affect densely wooded regions, the hippopotamus only inhabits big rivers or lakes. The buffalo is rarely found westward of the Niger. On the other hand the lion, giraffe, rhinoceros, zebra and ostrich decidedly prefer the sparsely wooded steppes and savannahs of Eastern and Southern Africa<sup>2</sup>. »

It had occurred to me, before I knew that this theory had been suggested by Professor Meinhof, and possibly others, that this difference in names might, in some cases at least, be the result of *hlonipa*, knowing that the ordinary names of certain animals are forbidden to be uttered, or at least, not used willingly, according to a world-wide usage of which it would be superfluous to give examples.

It is with the object of obtaining a little more light in this point that I shall now proceed to examine the names of the animals enumerated by Sir Harry Johnston, or at any rate some of them, in those Bantu languages in which I have found adequate material for comparison.

(*A suivre*).

(1) Smith, E. W., *A handbook of the ila language* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 18-19.

(2) *The Kilimanjaro Expedition*, p. 486.

## REMARQUES SUR L'IMAGERIE POPULAIRE

Par A. VAN GENNEP.

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Le problème qui se pose à propos de l'imagerie dite populaire est exactement le même que celui qui se pose à propos des littératures populaires, des croyances populaires, des costumes populaires, et il se formule dans les mêmes termes : étant donné que *populaire* se rapporte d'une part à l'acte de création, d'autre part au phénomène de la transmission, et enfin à celui de l'utilisation d'une forme prétendue collective d'activité, peut-on cependant, sous ce caractère à première vue collectif, discerner des tendances déterminées, et sont-elles réellement collectives, ou bien individuelles?

Ce problème, j'ai tenté de le résoudre à diverses reprises déjà, et pour d'autres activités que l'activité esthétique, soit, dans mes *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie*, à propos du fait particulier de l'invention des coutumes religieuses et sociales, soit dans ma *Formation des Légendes* à propos des récits de toute catégorie qui ont cours dans le peuple.

En matière d'art, il est beaucoup plus difficile d'atteindre à des généralisations acceptables qu'en matière d'institutions ou de légendes, presque aussi difficile que, par exemple, en matière de contes. C'est que là aussi l'anonymat à peu près régulier oppose à la recherche approfondie un obstacle presque invincible. Je dis « presque », parce que à bien étudier les techniques et les manières, un critique d'art peut arriver à distinguer des « mains », c'est-à-dire des caractéristiques individuelles, indiscernables au premier venu. Quelle que soit l'équation personnelle propre du critique, et qui pourrait vicier son jugement, les résultats acquis par les archéologues ou les critiques d'art s'intéressant à la Renaissance par exemple, et mieux encore à des écoles déterminées, ne sont point niables. Il se peut aussi que la méthode des mensurations, telles les recherches de S. Reinach sur l'indice mammaire, ou celles de Laran sur l'école bourguignonne, conduiront plus tard à des acquisitions plus solides que la critique à demi subjective encore ordinairement en usage. Jacques Mesnil cependant a fait, dans la *Revue des Idées*, aux systèmes prétendus objectifs de critique d'art des objections bien fortes ; mais elles prouvent plutôt que l'instrument est encore mal construit, non pas que le principe qui guide ses inventeurs soit à rejeter d'emblée et dès avant son perfectionnement.

Le mieux, d'ailleurs, en ces matières, c'est toujours de choisir un terrain de faits et de n'y avancer que pas à pas. Et l'on comprendra combien doit être bienvenue la publication, par MM. E. van Heurck, d'Anvers, et J. Boekenoogen, de Leyde, de leur admirable *Histoire de l'Imagerie populaire flamande* (730 pages, in-4°, Bruxelles, van Oest, 30 fr.), richement illustrée de clichés en noir et d'originaux en couleurs — et ceci surtout si j'ajoute qu'un long *Appendice* donne un exposé comparé de l'imagerie populaire dans les autres pays d'Europe (1). Comme les

[1] Me trouvant à Anvers, il y a quelques semaines, j'ai eu la chance de pouvoir visiter en la compagnie de M. van Heurck le musée de Folk-Lore récemment organisé dans cette ville grâce aux soins de Max Elskamp et de M. van Heurck lui-même. Il m'a montré aussi plusieurs séries de sa belle collection d'images populaires et a poussé l'obligeance jusqu'à me prêter, pour illustrer le présent article, non seulement des clichés, mais aussi quelques bois originaux anciens.

# THE NAMES OF ANIMALS IN THE BANTU LANGUAGES

By Miss A. WERNER (Londres).

(*Suite et fin*).

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1. *The Lion*. Is found throughout Africa south of the Sahara, with the exception of parts of The Congo forest country. Sir Harry Johnston says <sup>1</sup> « Over the greater part of West - Central and Western Africa the lion is either non - existent or has all the appearance of a recently-arrived animal ». Nevertheless he seems to be known, if only by report or tradition, to nearly all Bantu tribes, and I am inclined to doubt whether my failure to find a name for him in some languages, such as the Faäng, is not merely due to the scantiness of the materials available.

The names by which the lion is known differ, as already stated, very widely from each other. *Mkango*, *simba*, *tau*, *nyalupala*, *nkalamu*, *ntale*, *nkosi*, *tambo*, are some of them.

In considering the distribution of these and other names, I shall begin with the Nyanja *mkango*, which, so far as I am aware, stands alone. Entirely different words are used by the Yaos (*lisimba*) and Makua (*karamu*) who are the neighbours of the Anyanja on the east. The Sena people on the Zambezi (who indeed speak a dialect of chi-Nyanja) say *nkalamu*, as do the Basenga, the Balala and the Babemba on the west, and, in a slightly varied form the Konde people in the north. In no other language have I been able to found the word *mkango*, while it is also remarkable that this word belongs to the *mu-mi* class : *mkango u-lumpa*, « the lion leaps », (not *a-lumpa*), *i ri po mkango* « there are lions », (not *a li po wakango*, as it would be if *mkango* belonged to the person-class). Native usage is decisive on this point.

It was only recently I discovered that the Bushman word for « lion » is *Kā*. This seems quite a possible origin for the word, when we take into consideration that there seems reason to think that a large Bushman preceded and to a certain extent became amalgamated with the Bantu A-Nyanja, at any rate west of the Shiré. (See R. E. E. S. March. 1908).

Leaving aside this suggestion, which further inquiry may or may not invalidate, I proceed to take next in order the name which occurs most frequently in the table of languages I have drawn up, viz. *simba*. This seems to be confined to the eastern side of the continent. In Pokomo, (the most northerly Bantu language of the coast region), it is *dzimba*, in Nika <sup>2</sup>. Swahili, Chaga, Kami, Nguru, Bondei, Gogo, Zigula and Pogoro, *simba*, which is also the word in Sukuma, the northern dialect of Nyamwezi. Variants of this form are Nyamwezi *isimba* (or *ishimba*), Rundi, *ishimba*, Shambala, *shimba*, Sumbwa, *nshimba*, Fipa (South Tanganyika) *nsimba*, Yao *lisimba*, Matengo (Eastern side of North Nyasa),

1. *George Grenfell and the Congo*, II, 918.

2. Some dialects have *dzimba*.

*lihimba*, and Zwina (the language of the Mashona, which, according to Torrend, is a dialect of Karanga) *shumba*.

In Ila (Upper Zambezi), *shumbwa* is used, as well as *indavn*.

Generally this word belongs to the third class, and is invariable in the plural. In Yao and Matengo, however, it belongs to the *li-ma* class, and the plural would be *masimba*, *mahimba*. It is possible that originally it belonged everywhere to this class and the loss of the prefix has caused it to be placed erroneously in the third. But Fipa and Sumbwa have the *n-* prefix, and it is perhaps more probable that the converse process has taken place, and that it acquired the *li-* prefix in Yao and Matengo from an idea that the apocopated stem belonged to this class. In Swahili there are many apocopated nouns of which it is impossible to say, till their records are known, whether they belong to the third or the fifth (*li-ma*) class.

There is a word *simba* (as well as *lihimba*) in Matengo<sup>1</sup> but it is applied to a different animal. In Nyanja, by the bye, *simba* means a small kind of spotted bush-cat (*Felis caracal*?)

In Krapf and Rebmann's *Nika Dictionary* (London, S. P. C. K., 1887), we find a very interesting note on the subject of *hlonipa*, s. v., *moniambo* (*muayambo*), which is the word for lion in the Kigiryama dialect of Nika. « The word is only used in superstitious dread, while the proper word both in Kigiryama and Kirabai [the dialect of the Rabai people close to Mombasa] is *Dzimba*. » Elsewhere, as has been said, the same authority gives the Nika word as *simba*.

Another animal whose name the Wanika avoid pronouncing is the *loma* « probably the badger » (loc. cit., p. 214), which « burrows in old ant-hills. « When one is killed, a lamentation is held over it, hoping that by so doing the meat will prove very fat. » When digging for it, they do not, if they have to mention it, call it *loma* but *Godzo* » from the superstitious dread that, if they called it by its real name, it would go further from them in its hole and, if caught, would not prove as fat as it ought to be. » (Id., p. 107.)

In Sukuma, *simba* is used along with *nyarunvere*, which may be the same word as *nyalupala*, to be considered later on. In Gogo, besides *simba*, *nyalupala* and *nyaluni* are used, the latter a Masai word.

In Zwina, *Mondoro* (*imondoro*) is used, as well as *shumba*. *Mondoro*, according to Father Biehler, « means especially a man possessed by a spirit as valiant as a lion's », and seems also to be used for « a spirit ». What its etymology is, I am unable to say; it is of the third class, the plural being *dzimondoro*. There appears to be a belief prevalent in this part of Africa that the spirits of deceased chiefs assume the form of lions.

*Mpondoro* is also used by the Tete and Sena people on the Middle and Lower Zambezi.

The Ila synonyms for *shumbwa* are, *kapumpu*, *indavu*, *Shamaugana*, *Shanza*, *Shanza-Mukula* (« Great Shanza »), *Shetwi*, and *Mwanda-Banyama* (« Hunter of Animals »). It is probable that some of these are titles, used to avoid mentioning the real name. I can find no indication of this custom prevailing with regard to animals among the Ba-Ila, but certain names of persons are always avoided, e. g. a person may never utter his own name or that of a namesake, or the names of his father, mother, sister-in-law, and wife i. e. the latter's name before her marriage. Every married woman has to receive a new name from her husband.

Coming back to the north, we find that the nearest Bantu neighbours, on the

1. P. Hälliger, in *Afrikanische Studien* (Mitteilungen des Seminars für orient. Sprachen), 1909, p. 180.



west, of the Wapokomo and Wanika are the Akikuyu and Akamba. The former use two words for lion, *Murothi*, which I can find nowhere else, except that *Molothi*, given as the Kamba for « leopard », appears to be the same word, and *Mupaka*, which is also found in Kamba. This last, in other languages means « wild cat »; in Swahili, *paka* is also used for a domestic cat, as is *mpaka* in Nyanja. (Nyanja has a great many names for different species of wild cats, as *mjuzi*, *vumbwe*, *simba* and others; but, unless I am mistaken *mpaka* is not included among them). In Zulu, *impaka* is the wild cat, but it is seldom mentioned, having an ill omened reputation as a wizard's familiar. It will be noticed that where the word is used for a lion it has the *mu* prefix. I have not been able to ascertain whether the plural takes *mi* or *ba*. Kamba has, besides *mupaka*, *munyambo* (which we find also in Nika) and *munabwe* (see Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, p. 277), which may be an erroneous rendering of the same word.

In Ganda the word in general use is *empologoma*<sup>1</sup>. Which, as pointed out to me by the Rev. W. A. Crabtree, seems to mean « The Roarer », being derived from the verb *ku wologoma*. It is therefore probably not the original name, which I infer was *ntale*. But, as I learn from the same authority, that, as it is used in folk-stories with the personifying prefix (*wampologoma*), « presumably *ntale* is not even recognized as old Lu-Ganda ». (*E*)*ntale* is the regular word in Nyoro, Ziba and (in the form *intare*), Rundi. Cf. also the Konjo *ndali*.

I feel uncertain wheter we can venture to connect *ntale* with the Ila and Subiya *indavu*, which, by all the laws of sound-shifting is clearly identical with the Chwana *tau*. It is not impossible that they might spring from a common Proto-Bantu root. In Ronga (Delagoa Bay) we find it in the form *ndjau*. Possibly (but here, again, I hesitate), the Luyi (Rotse) *nde* might belong to this group.

It has already been pointed out that in Subiya folk-tales, *indavu* becomes *undavu*. (Mr. Smith suggests that *indavu*, in this language is borrowed from the neighbouring Totela dialect; — but why? — unless to avoid the use of *shumbwa*). In like manner the Basuto, in folk-tales, frequently call the lion *motau*; — e. g. « Joale hosasane *motau moholo* a tsoha, a ea pete letseng la liphoofolo.... Joale *motau moholo* a botsa, a re », etc.<sup>2</sup>.

*Inkalamu* seems to belong chiefly to the country north of the Middle Zambezi. We find it in Bemba, Wisa, Lala, Lenje, Senga, Sena, Konde (*ingalamu*) and (separated by a considerable interval), Makua (*karumu*).

*Mnyalupala* (*nyalopala*, *nyarupala*), seems to be confined to the upper course of the Rufiji and the depression north of it, called by the Germans « *das abflusslose Gebiet* ». It is found in Kaguru, Gogo, Hehe and Sango.

Turning to the Congo region, we find the following variants of one form.

Fiote (Lower Congo, also called « Kongo »), -*nkoshi* (spelt by Bentley *ukozi*).

Bangi (above Stanley Pool) -*nkosi*.

Lolo *nkosi*.

Mbundu (Angola) *hoji* (*j* probably pronounced as in French).

Kwanyama (south of Angola) *ongoshi*.

Ndonga (Ovambo country) *onkoshi*.

One cannot help wondering whether the Zulu word for « Chief », which occurs also in Suto (*kxosi*) and Thonga (*kosi*), bot not, I think, elsewhere connected with the same root as these. I do not recollect any instance of a chief being called

1. I have not found this word elsewhere, except — curiously enough — in the Chwabo dialect of Kilimane (Portuguese East Africa) where it has the form *podogoma*.

2. Jacottet, Treasury of Basuto, p. 13.

« Lion », with the exception of Simba Mwene in East Africa, though « leopard » is frequently a royal title. But the suggestion might be worth considering. Professor Meinhof, however, derives the word from *koka*, « draw, lead », cf. as *dux* from *duco*.

The Zulu name for lion which seems to be most commonly used is *ibubesi*, evidently connected with *buba* = « perish », causative *bubisa* = « destroy ». *Imbube*, which not does so frequently occur, comes from the same root. I do not know what word has been replaced by these. *Ingonyama* is given in the dictionaries, but I do not remember hearing any word but *ibubesi* used in Natal. In Nyasaland, however, an old « Angoni » woman who spoke Zulu, gave me the word *ingwenyama*, which puzzled me, as being evidently a compound of *ingwe* « leopard » and *nyama* « animal » but perhaps it is an instance of corruption through « folk-etymology ». I had therefore always looked on this word as a derivative and perhaps employed equally with *ibubesi* to replace some tabooed original. But the existence of the form *ongeama* in Herero suggests that it may be a modification (in accordance, as already said, with folk-etymology) of some primitive root. I can find no other examples of this or any cognate form.

This avoidance of the lion's primitive name in Zulu might have originated (a) in a superstitious fear of the animal itself, as we know to be the case with the names of the leopard and the wild cat (*impaka*), or (b) if it had been the personal name of a chief, in the rule of *hlonipa* which forbids the use of such a name. I do not know whether it is possible that — supposing the tabooed name to be *inkosi*, — it might, when the tabu had lapsed and its original meaning had been forgotten, acquire the meaning of « chief ».

In Herero we have also *onyezu* « maned lion » and *ondumbi*, stated by Briucker to be a « *Beiname* », a surname or nickname. The initial *o*, by the bye, does not here denote the person-class : in Herero the class corresponding to the one we have been calling the third has the prefixes *o* in the singular and *ozo* in the plural : as, *ondu* « sheep », pl. *ozondu*.

I find no parallel to the Ndonga *onime*, which is used alongside of *onkoshi*. It may, like *ondumbi*, be an appellative.

The Bushongo of the Kasai do not themselves know the lion, which is not found in their country, but they have a name for it — *tambo*. This is borrowed from their neighbours, the Balunda, whose word for lion is *tambu* (Senhor Dias Carvalho <sup>1</sup> writes it *täbu*). In Rundi we have (besides the two other appellations already mentioned) *intambwe* and in Rega (spoken west of Rundi and Ruanda, in the forest region between the great lakes and the Congo) *ndambwe*, which seem to be the same word.

*Ilulu* is the name for the lion in the very interesting Masaba language spoken near Mount Elgon, which appears to be one of the most archaic among the Bantu tongues. In Chopi (« Xifenge ») spoken in the Inhambane district (Portuguese East Africa, nearly at the other end of the Bantu field, we have *nghala*. Duala, again, at the northwestern extremity of the area, has *ujila*, *njila*, which may be connected, though in Bantu vowels are slower to change than consonants, and the transition from A to I is so violent as to seem improbable.

The only name remaining on our list belongs to Kinga, a language spoken in the mountains bordering the western shore of Lake Nyasa at the northern end. This is *elibonzu*, a word to which I have failed to discover an analogue in any other language, nor can I ascertain its etymology; — it has every appearance of being a

1. Metodo pratico para fallar a lingua de Lunda. (Lisbon, 1890).

*hlonipa*-word recently coined, and one might hazard a conjecture that *bonza* (which is not in Wolff's vocabulary) <sup>1</sup>, is onomatopoeic for growling or roaring. It will be noticed that it belongs to the *li-ma* class. A curious point mentioned by Wolff is that *ama* (the Kinga plural prefix of this class) is sometimes used with nouns of other classes, to express 1° size and 2° contempt, as *amabeki aga* (for *emibeki egi*), « these huge trees », *amanu aga*, « these fellows », for *avanu awa*, « these men ». If we suppose the idea to be that contempt or detestation of an enemy can be safely expressed when a pseudonym is employed, this might throw some light on the reason for the class of *ibubesi*. Can any examples be found to support this view?

We may add a few notes on the position of the lion in Bantu folklore. He is by no means so prominent as some other animals, e. g. the Elephant, the Hare and the Tortoise; indeed, we find that he does not always take the highest place. In Angola, for instance <sup>2</sup> « the elephant is the supreme king of all animal creation, and the special chief of the edible tribe of wild animals. Next to him in rank, the lion is special chief of the tribe of ferocious beasts, and highest vassal of the elephant. » The lion as chief of the animals figures in Suto tales, e. g. « The Nyamatsanes » in Jacottet, *Treasury of Basuto Lore*, vol. 1, n° 1 : (*Contes pop. des Bassoutos*, « Le petit lièvre »), and possibly in Ronga, (Junod, *Chants et Contes*, pp. 108, 127, where Masingue wa Njao seems to mean the lion). In the Sesuto story he is outwitted by the Hare, who induces him to help in thatching a hut, fastens his tail into the thatch and leaves him to die. In a Nyanja story (Rattray, p. 136), the Hare, by a trick catches a succession of animals in a game-pit and kills them. The Lion, in his turn, also falls in, but, the Hare falling in at the same time, he catches him, and only spares his life on condition that he will follow him home and nurse his children. He then plays on the Lion the trick which, in so many other tales he is made to play on the Leopard, and, after eating the cubs, escapes, and contrives to put the blame on the Baboons, who are killed by the Lion.

In another story collected by Mr. Rattray, a lion is overcome by a blind man who employs a series of subterfuges reminding one of the way in which, in a Chinamwanga story, the lion is « bluffed » by the shrew-mouse. There are Nyanja and Chinamwanga tales relating how a girl married a lion who had temporarily assumed the form of a man; but it is more commonly a hyena who figures in this kind of werewolf story. In Ila, too, it is the lion whose cubs the Hare pretends to take care of and eats, and there are three other stories of the Lion and the Hare. The above is not the only instance where the Lion in some tribes takes the part assigned to the Leopard in the same story by others.

2. *The Elephant*. Out of seventy Bantu languages we find that fifty have virtually the same name for this animal. Perhaps it may be as well to give the list, which is by no means complete.

Pokomo	ndsofu.	Swahili	ndovu <sup>3</sup> .
Kamba	unzoo, nzou.	Gogo	nzofu <sup>3</sup> .
Kikuyu	njogu.	Ganda	enjovu.
Nika	ndzovu.	Masaba	injoji, injovu.
Taita		Nyamwezi	nzovu.
Chaga	ndofu.	Sumbwa	nzovu.
Taveta	nzobu.	Nyoro	enjoju.
Tikuu (northern dialect of Swahili)	ndofu.	Rundi	inzovu.
		Pega	njou.

1. Archiv für das Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen, Band III.

2. Chatelain, Folk-Tales of Angola, p. 22.

3. These languages have other names as well. These will be discussed later.



Konjo	ndsogu.	Senga	nzovu.
(Ruwendori)		Ronga	ndlopfu.
Kivamba (do)	ndsogu	Chopi	nzofu.
Kihoko (do)	oligu.	Zwina	nzou.
Fipa	nzovu <sup>1</sup> .	Zulu	indhlovu.
Sango	nzovu <sup>1</sup> .	Bushongo	njoko <sup>1</sup> .
Konde	isofu.	Kele (Congo)	njoku.
Chinamwanga	inzovu.	Lolo —	njoku.
Bemba	insofu.	Bangi —	nzoku.
Wisa	nzovu.	Ngala —	njoku.
Ila	muzovu.	Bena Kanioka	nzovu.
Subiya	anzovu.	Fiote	nzou <sup>1</sup> .
Lala	insofu.	Fan	ensok, nzox.
Lenje	nsofu.	Duala	njou.
Lunda	nzavo.	Mpongwe	indyogu.
Rotse	ondopu.	Herero	ondjou.
Nyanja	njobvu.	Chwana and Suto	tlou.
Sena	nzou.		

All these forms are derived, according to Meinhof, from a Proto-Bantu root *loyu*.

In the majority of the remaining languages, some form of the word *tembo* is used. This, according to Professor Meinhof, originally meant « a tusk » and, from the vast proportions assumed by the ivory trade, came to be used for the whole elephant and gradually supplanted the older designation. It is now used in Swahili almost entirely to the exclusion (unless in some of the northern dialects) of *ndovu*. It is also found in Bondei (*ntembo*), Gogo (*nhembo*), Hehe (*ndembwe*), Kami (*nhembo*), Nguru, Makua (*etepo*), Zigula, Pogoro, Shambala, Yao (*ndemba*) and Matengo.

It is possible, though at present I can bring no evidence in support of the suggestion, that the Fiote *nzamba* (used side by side with *nzou*, the Mbundu and Ndonga *ondjamba* and the Kwanyama *ondjaba*) can be referred to the same root.

The Kinga *etsungwa* is an isolated form of which I know not what to make. So are Ziba *nyudyu* (if correctly reported), Sukuma *mhuli* (also used along with Nyamwezi *nzovu*), Matengo *mpwayanayo*, defined by P. Höfliger as « grosser Elefant, die zu zweien gehen », Zigula *ngogoni*, said to mean « an old elephant » (Kisbey); Fipa *ntirya* and Sango *jongwa*, which are given as synonyms of *nzovu*.

The Poto (Middle Congo) word *mbongo* may be connected with a non-Bantu root.

In Bushongo, besides *Njoko*, *kamba* and *Boloko* are used. The former belongs to the archaic and now obsolete language which the Bushongo people brought with them from their original home in the far north, and which seems not to be Bantu. Possibly *nzamba* and *ondjamba* should be connected with this, and not with *tembo*, and, if so, they are probably due to Bushongo influence.

I have not met, so far, with any instance of the elephant being subject to *hlonipa* as regards his name, though, of course where he is the totem of a clan (as with the Nyanja clan *Njobvu*) he must not be killed or eaten. Hollis mentions an elephant clan among the Nandi, whose members think they have sufficiently observed the rule if, after killing their totem, they apologise and say they took him for a rhinoceros.

But there is a curious point in Nyanja folk-lore, which may have some reference in this connection. There is a creature figuring in many of the animal tales under

1. These languages have other names as well. These will be discussed later.



the name of *dzimwe* (Likoma dialect *jinwe*) which is by some explained to be the elephant, and indeed in some cases the identical tales are elsewhere told of the elephant under his usual name. But there is some vagueness on the point, as one native authority says that the *dzimwe* is « either an elephant or a big spirit (*chimzimu*) », and another « that it is only a creature in a story ». And it is clearly the same word as Zulu *i-zimu*, Suto *lelimo*, Duala *edimo*, Kikuyu *irimu*, which denotes a cannibal ogre, usually of more or less preternatural attributes.

It does not seem in accordance with the usual tenor of Bantu ideas that the name of a preternatural being should be adopted in order to avoid naming the elephant, who, though (as Chatelain points out) recognized as supreme chief of all animals, is almost invariably represented as (for all his wisdom and dignity) rather stupid, at any rate no match for the keen wits of the Hare who usually makes a butt of him. If the foregoing be correct, the absence of *hlonipa* in the case of the elephant, coinciding with a great uniformity of nomenclature, and the diversity of the names of the lion, while there is presumption, if not proof, of *hlonipa* being applied to him, might go some way to support the idea that *hlonipa* has had considerable influence in the differentiation of language. I am obliged to reserve for a future occasion the examination, from this point of view, of the names for leopard, hippopotamus, hyena, buffalo, hare, crocodile, tortoise and some others, which I think might throw a little further light on the question.

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## ANALYSES ET NOTICES

CONFÉRENCES DE SAINT-ÉTIENNE (*Ecole pratique d'Etudes Bibliques*, 1909-1910, in-18, 320 p., Paris, Lecoq. — J. Gabalda, 1910, 3 fr. 50.

En 1890 se fonda à Jérusalem, sur l'initiative du R. P. Lagrange, l'Ecole Biblique. Elle publia la *Revue biblique* et une série d'*Etudes Palestiniennes* dont le présent volume est le troisième. C'est un recueil de six conférences prononcées au couvent de Saint-Etienne à Jérusalem en 1909-1910 devant un public très divers : ecclésiastiques, moines de tous ordres, protestants, laïcs, etc. De ces conférences, il n'y en a qu'une, celle du R. P. Février sur saint Elie, patriarche de Jérusalem, qui soit en dehors du domaine de la *Revue*. La première, celle de P. Dhorme expose les Origines Babylo-niennes : on y trouvera un bon exposé de la géographie de la Mésopotamie, avec discussions philologiques d'après les documents les plus récents, et des débuts de l'histoire suméro-accadienne et assyro-babylonienne. Celle du P. Lagrange est intitulée *A travers les papyrus grecs* : c'est d'après les papyrus d'Oxyrhynque, d'Hibeh, etc. un tableau animé et amusant de la vie quotidienne : coutumes, mœurs, croyances, droit, religion, sentiments du Fayoum, empire du dieu crocodile, sous les Ptolémées. Le P. Germer-Burand étudie, en prenant pour point de départ des étalons en pierre récemment découverts, les mesures de capacités des Hébreux (photo). En décrivant ses excursions autour du lac de Tibériade, dom Zephyrin Biever note quelques légendes, entre autres la forme actuelle de la légende de Job, cas intéressant de fixité locale d'un thème écrit : p. 130, il cite aussi la légende qui attribue à Ali edh Dhaher, chef de brigands du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle, des ouvrages hydrauliques datant de la fin tout au moins de l'occupation romaine, et c'est là un joli cas de « rajeunissement historique ». Cf. ma *Formation des légendes*.

Enfin je signale, dans le même ordre d'idées, le très intéressant mémoire du

P. Abel sur *Mambré*. C'était le nom de la localité où Abraham installa son campement ; il s'y trouvait soit un chêne, soit un térébinthe sacré. L'auteur commence par comparer critiquement les divers passages de la Bible et des commentateurs relatifs à ce lieu-dit, placé près d'Hébron. Il montre comment, au cours de l'histoire juive, la localité en tant que sacrée, a été tantôt un objet de vénération, tantôt un lieu d'horreur, et comment, par un procès de convergence, divers arbres gigantesques situés dans le voisinage d'Hébron avaient été identifiés avec l'arbre d'Abraham. Adrien installa près du Térébinthe une foire, qui dura et acquit une grande célébrité ; on saisit même là la genèse d'un renouveau cérémoniel : des chrétiens et des juifs s'y rendaient en masse, mais « on y honorait les anges par des libations de vin, des sacrifices de volailles ou de bêtes à cornes et des brûleries d'encens » ; dans le puits d'Abraham on jetait des gâteaux, des monnaies ou de l'encens, on versait du vin et des parfums, on l'environnait de lumières » (Sozomène, Socrate, etc). Constantin fit détruire l'autel et construire une basilique pour « christianiser » cet emplacement. L'arbre mourut centenaire sous le règne de Constance (337-361) mais le pèlerinage à Mambré continua, comme en témoigne le récit du palestinien Sozomène (v<sup>e</sup> siècle). Puis le P. Abel montre comment, par suite du syncrétisme ordinaire en Orient, païens et chrétiens exécutaient en ce lieu, chacun à sa manière, les rites et cérémonies ; Abraham acquit même dans le populaire le renom d'une sorte de magicien, versé dans l'occultisme chaldéen. L'islam survenant compliqua le syncrétisme antérieur : les noms arabes actuels des accidents de terrain (comme le vallon du Patriarche, le creux du Térébinthe, le bain de Sara, la colline d'Abraham) sont explicites à cet égard. — Puis vient une discussion d'ordre archéologique, sur l'identification des mines existant en cet endroit (au Ramet el Khalil, soi-disant piscine d'Abraham), dont on ne



